

CHAPTER IV

- Dialectics and the Class Struggle -

In a philosophy which finds the ultimate causes of historical and social evolution in the antagonism between productive forces and relations of production - objective factors beyond the will and control of man - one would naturally expect that human factors would play but a negligible part in the progress of society. In spite of what we have seen, however, such is not exactly the case and it is the task of the present chapter to note the role of human action in the drama of history and thus to complete, in a sense, the Marxist synthesis.

Productive forces - primary and fundamental though they may be - are of themselves unable to effect changes in societal structures. The changes which have occurred are a result of their determining influence but the contradiction existing between them and production relations becomes a historical reality charged with meaning only when each side of the contradiction is clothed with flesh and blood, when the contradiction finds its vocal expression through a psychology of class. The different classes are formed, molded and determined by the productive

forces, according to Marx, and when the contradiction existing in the economic structure of society has fully penetrated the consciousness of the classes it creates a will to revolt in the exploited classes and a will to preserve the status quo in the exploiting classes. (1) This is the fundamental dialectic which dominates the historical process - the class struggle, the conflict between the progressive and reactionary factors of social evolution. All development, all progress, all change and movement in the sphere of history is rooted in the class struggle which assumes its most acute, vivid and, for Marx, final expression in the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie which is the product of the epoch of capitalism. Before treating of this fundamental conflict, however, we should try to extract from the writings of Marxists some preliminary facts relative to the notion, origin, and division of classes.

(1) Cf. Chang, Sherman H. M., The Marxian Theory of State, pp. 36-37

- Section 1 - Marxist Notion of Class -

As is well known, Marx has nowhere in his writings furnished us with an ex professo treatment of just what a class is. (1) Although he continually speaks of classes their role in history and so on, still one is hard-pressed to formulate a definition of a class in the Marxist sense. We must be content, therefore, to discover what can be at best a loosely formulated description or working definition.

Marx, in speaking of the peasants of France, throws some light on his idea of what constitutes a class.

In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that divide their mode of life, their interests, and their culture from those of other classes, and put them in hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no unity, no national union, and no political organisation, they do not form a class. (2)

In this concise formulation we can distinguish

(1) cf. Capital, Vol. III last chapter in which Marx apparently began to formulate a scientific expose of classes. To the regret of numerous sociologists the subject was never completed.

(2) Marx, K., The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 415

again the basic doctrine that the economic conditions of any group living in society determines its mode of life, interests, and culture, these latter being only derivatives of the position of the group with regard to relations of production, ultimately determined by productive forces. Further, it must be noted that the bond of union which results from the coalescing of group interests places that group in a hostile position relative to other social aggregates. This latter point emphasizes the fact that, for Marx, there can be no thought of a terrestrial existence unmarked by strife, opposition, struggle as long as there exists a stratification of society into classes. Class division is the sign of discontent, injustice, inequality, oppression, and exploitation. As long as it exists, coordination, collaboration, cooperation in the destiny of humanity - full mastery of the forces of nature - remain illusory and utopian, the slogans of the dominating class and the dreams of the idealists. A society which is marked by differences in relation productions - that is, differences in property relations, differences in regard to ownership or non-ownership of the means of production - is the breeding ground of revolution, discord, and

contention which will not end until men create a new world wherein all will be on a plane of equality relative to the means of production as a result of the abolition of classes. Only then will social evolution cease to be identical with political revolutions. (1)

Lenin bases his definition of social classes on Marx's analysis as is clearly seen when he says that classes are "great groups of people which are distinguished by their position in the historically defined system of social production through their relation to the means of production." (2) The class doctrine of Marx thus flows in a direct line from his economic monism and the fundamental notion is always the relation to the means of production combined with a common class psychology which is the subjective expression of an

(1) Marx, K., *Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 127

(2) Cited by Brameld, T. B., *A Philosophic Approach to Communism*, Priv. ed. dist. by University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, 1933, p. 102. (Italics ours)
"...when there are no classes (i.e., there is no difference between the members of society in their relation to the social means of production), only then the state ceases to exist." Lenin V., *State and Revolution*, p. 73 (Italics within the parenthesis ours)

empirically verifiable objective condition. Jackson accepts fully this notion of class in the following words,

What constitutes a class in the Marxian sense? Basically it is a specific relation to the mode of social production for the time being in operation. It is a social expression of that which, in base, is the social division of labor. Being a social expression - one in which the objective realities confronting society are expressed through individuals and their consciousness - it expresses objective reality only in a more or less distorted and roundabout fashion. (1)

While maintaining the same fundamental criterion of a Marxian class - the position of a group in relation to means of production - Bober posits a secondary criterion, personal freedom. For example, ownership or non-ownership of means of production does not distinguish sufficiently the slave and the proletariat. "When we talk of the slave and the proletariat, of the Greek master and the modern bourgeois, we are not dealing with two Marxian classes but with four." If we add a second element, the amount of freedom and authority enjoyed by the classes already formed by property relations "we attain greater precision in

(1) Jackson, T. A., Dialectics, The Logic of Marxism; p. 458, cf. also pp. 360-62

in trying to discover the Marxist notion of class."

Bober sums up his analysis by stating:

One may define, then, a class as a group of people who, in a given society, with a given regime of production, are finding themselves in the same position with reference to two things: the ownership or non-ownership of the property essential in the labor-processes, and second, the personal freedom enjoyed or deprived thereof. Marx nowhere adequately explains this view, but that it is his view, his scattered discussions make fairly certain. (1)

Although Bukharin's orthodoxy was placed in serious doubt, to say the least, by his liquidation in the thirties, still we may consider his views on classes as following the party line when he states that "a social class is the aggregate of persons playing the same part in production, standing in the same relation toward other persons in the production process.... The approach to classes must be similar to that used in the approach to societies generally, i.e., with the process of production." (2)

In summary, we may say that the Marxist conception of a class is based on an economic substratum which finds its expression in a community of interests,

(1) Bober, M., op. cit. pp 93-96

(2) Bukharin, N., Historical Materialism, p. 276 ff.

aspirations, sentiments, and fears, an amalgam of intellectual, moral, and economic factors which go to make up a sentiment of solidarity, expressed in Marxist terminology as "class consciousness." The next question is, "What is the origin of classes in the Marxist scheme of things?"

- Origin of Classes -

According to the Marxists, classes have not always existed nor will they continue to exist in the future. They are characteristic of a phase of history which, following upon a primitive period of social unity, divided society and social man but will inevitably give way to a higher historical phase marked by a richer, more developed unity. Just as the satisfaction of needs inaugurated the division of society into classes, so too the pressing demands for full exploitation of the forces of nature in the process of production is driving society towards a social organization which will see the abolition of classes. This is an inexorable law of social progress which works independently of any human will.

In the primitive commune there was a natural

division of labor. Some members of the community were assigned functions which were eminently social, that is, directed toward the good of the community and under the control of the community, such as settlement of disputes, and protection of rights of the different people. Within the family a division of labor also existed, the husband was huntsman, fisherman; the wife was concerned with domestic duties; the children shared in both according to their sex and talents. Classes, as such, however, did not exist. (1) Land was in common and each man was in possession of the means of production. What private property did exist was solely for use. When individuals began to produce more than was needed for their own use the surplus was exchanged by means of barter with their neighbors. At a certain stage of development men began to press into service those captured in war and at the same time began to withdraw more and more from actual production itself. The system of slavery, based on the labor of captives of war, "soon became the predominant form of production among all peoples who were developing beyond the primitive community" and was the earliest historical form

(1) Stalin, J., Dialectical and Historical Materialism, L. L. L. Vol. 25, p. 34

of exploitation and of an artificial division of labor on a wide scale. Now there was a sharp distinction among men in the productive process, those who owned the means of production and those who owned nothing, not even themselves. This was the significant breach in the social solidarity characteristic of the primitive commune and it was a cleavage which would widen and deepen in the flowing stream of history. (1)

Along with foregoing explanation, Engels adds another reason for the origin of classes - the low development of production, which had as its necessary outcome "the division of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class."

So long as the sum total labour yielded a product which only slightly exceeded what was nec-

(1) Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, pp. 193-203. cf. also his Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State - The general description of the origin of classes contained in communist literature, closely akin to the state of nature theories which we have discussed in the previous chapter, is in Marx, no less than in Rousseau, a secularized, speculative version of the Christian idea of paradise, a state of idyllic bliss, free from the conflicts, antagonisms, envy and malice which mark the pages of all written history. Sin entered the world when man began to exploit man and misery, suffering and oppression followed in its wake. Paradise lost will become paradise regained only when the exploitation of man is ended i.e., when classes are abolished and the means of production are the possession of no one because they are the possession of all.

essary for the bare existence of all; so long, therefore, as all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society was absorbed in labor, so long was society necessarily divided into classes. Alongside of this great majority exclusively absorbed in labour there developed a class, freed from direct productive labour, which managed the general business of society the direction of labour, affairs of state, justice, science, and so forth. It is therefore the law of the division of labour which lies at the root of the division into classes (1)

It is evident that we cannot make fine distinctions here and obtain a clear enumeration of causes of the origin of classes. Three factors, if we may so speak, intertwine and combine to account for the origin of classes - division of labor, low productivity and monopoly of the means of production by individuals. In a sense, the first and third factors express the same idea from slightly different points of view. The same thing is true of Engel's statement that class differences emerge with differences in distribution (2) because the mode of distribution is inextricably bound up with division of labor and ownership of means of production. In any case, the cause or causes, depending upon one's

(1) Ibid., p. 307. The same idea is repeated almost verbatim by Engels on p. 201.

(2) Ibid., p. 165

point of view, are strictly of the economic order and classes are the necessary result of the irresistible influence of the natural laws of historical evolution.

- Marxist Classes -

At the very outset of history one meets with a division of society into two great social aggregates - exploiters and exploited, rulers and ruled, master and slave. This bifarious division, not original with Marx's doctrine (1) does not preclude his speaking of numerous other classes in society. Indeed one would find the task of ascertaining the notion of a class in the Marxist sense much simpler had he been content to treat of only two social classes. Instead, however, we are constantly meeting with numerous classes and the terms used are not infrequently somewhat ambiguous.

In one place Marx speaks of eight classes; feudal nobility, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat, and peasants, the last being divided into the more wealthy farmers, small freeholders, feudal tenants,

(1) cf. L'homme, j., Le Problème des Classes, p. 103 ff.

and agricultural laborers. (1) Even more decisive is Engel's mention of peasants, serf or feudal tenant, industrial workers, journeymen, merchants, manufacturers, educated class, clergy. (2) Again, in an enumeration approved by Marx, Engels lists bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, feudal nobility, lumpenproletariat, proletariat, small peasants, (feudal peasants or tenants), peasants cultivating a little piece of land and agricultural laborers. (3) In this same enumeration he states that the bigger peasants belong to the bourgeoisie. In the Class Struggles in France Marx speaks of bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat, and peasantry. (4) The bourgeoisie was not a united class but represented two opposing groups - finance aristocracy and the real industrial bourgeoisie. (5) In Capital Marx mentions three great classes; wage laborers, capitalists, and landlords who draw their revenue from wages, profit and

(1) Engels, F., Germany: Revolution and Counter Revolution, in Selected Works, Vol II, pp. 42-49. As is well known today, this work, formerly attributed to Marx, was written by Engels though Marx collaborated to some degree. But as we have noted earlier, the opinions of one are the opinions of the other - at least up until Marx's death.

(2) Ibid. pp. 71-72

(3) Engels, F., Preface to The Peasant War in Germany, in Selected Works, Vol. II pp. 530-40.

(4) Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 232

(5) Ibid., p. 193

rent respectively. (1) Engels makes a similar division in Ludwig Feurbach when he names the landed aristocracy, middle class (bourgeoisie) and proletariat and remarks that one would have to "close one's eyes deliberately not to see in the fight of these three great classes and in the conflict of their interests the driving force of modern history - at least in the two most advanced countries (France and England)." (2) The tripartite division is taken up by Lenin who speaks of it as Marx's theory. The three classes are liberal big bourgeoisie, the radical petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. (3) In another passage Lenin links the landlords to the big bourgeoisie and the peasants with the petty bourgeoisie. (4)

In the Communist Manifesto likewise, Marx and Engels recognize number of different classes in both the past and present. "In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild masters, journeyman, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations." (5) In the present

(1) Vol. III, Chap. LII

(2) p. 51

(3) Two Tactics, L.L.L. Vol. 22 p. 73

(4) Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?, L.L.L., Vol. 12, p. 37. For the same division, cf. Ibid., p. 11; "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, L.L.L., Vol., 20, p. 12

(Marx's contemporary period) the big bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie (small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants) aristocracy, proletariat, and lumpen-proletariat. (1) The real contestants in the greatest of all class struggles however, are developed and brought into being by the epoch of the bourgeoisie, which "has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing one another - bourgeoisie and proletariat". (2)

Thus, it is clear that Marx acknowledges the existence of many classes but, as will become more evident, of all those enumerated only two are really significant, only two have a definite role to play in the prologue of world history which will dawn with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the

(1) Ibid., pp. 15-19

(2) Ibid., p. 9

proletariat. Cast into the Hegelian mold they are the thesis and antithesis preceding the ultimate synthesis and the proletariat alone is real, progressive, rational, for it represents the future whereas the bourgeoisie has become unreal, reactionary, irrational, deserves to, and will inevitably perish. Let us examine in greater detail the opposing armies as they face one another.

Proletariat The proletariat is the special and essential product of modern industry (1), a new class which, not existing in feudal society (2) makes its appearance around 1800. (3) Brought into being under the capitalist-bourgeois system of production its growth parallels that of bourgeois production (4) with the result that whereas all previous revolutions were made in the interests of selfish minorities, the proletarian revolution represents the interests of the

(1) Ibid., p. 19: Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, pp. 174:

(2) Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 33; Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, p. 183

(3) Ibid., p. 282

(4) Ibid., pp. 147: 165: 299: 306; Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 17; Engels, F., Preface to Peasant War in Germany, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 537; also classes have become sharply defined by the economic revolution since 1848. Engels, F., Introduction to The Class Struggles in France, in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol II, p. 177

self-conscious, immense majority. (1) The proletarian is an industrial worker, the citizen of the world community, a man whose interests, passing beyond the boundaries of his own particular native land, are closely bound up with the interests of the world proletariat that horizontally cut across all national interests which they transcend. (2) Because of the capitalist mode of production - in which the exploiting capitalist appropriates the profits and leaves the proletariat only a bare subsistence - the proletariat is propertyless (3), "entirely and permanently dependent upon wages" (4) and is "a Class of labourers who live only so long as they find work and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital". (5)

Modern sociologists have extended the ranks of the proletariat so as to embrace members of the liberal

(1) Ibid., p.181: Communist Manifesto, p. 20 : Marx, K., Morceaux Choisis, p. 171

(2) Ibid., p. 195: Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, pp. 20: 28

(3) Marx-Engels, German Ideology, pp. 20-25; Marx-Engels Communist Manifesto, p. 20

(4) Engels, F., Preface to Peasant War in Germany, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 539

(5) Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, pp. 15: 24.

professions, white-collar workers and others. (1) These groups, however, are not members of Marx's proletariat, with which we are concerned here, for while they may be propertyless and completely dependent on wages, they are not industrial workers, laborers, which is the primary insignia of the class of the future. Turner points out that another feature of Marx's proletariat excludes these groups - the proletarian of Marx is a laborer who "increases capital".

Now, according to "our theory" the laborers who "increase capital" are the "productive laborers" only, and we find that this class is very largely limited to wage-earners engaged in the production of material commodities. Marx permits himself to include those engaged in the transportation of commodities, but he denies the productive status to workers engaged in buying and selling, accounting, clerical work, storage, and a large number of other activities, even though they work for wages; such activities are not regarded either as producing value or increasing capital. (2)

Just as nothing can stop the forward progress of production - which operates according to natural laws

(1) Cf. Lhomme, op. cit., p. 238 ff.

(2) Turner, J. K., Challenge to Karl Marx, pp. 29-30
Cf. Marx, K., Capital, Vol. II, Part I, Chapter IV

independent of human will - so too nothing can arrest the development of the proletariat and the narrowing of the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Every step forward in production affects the proletariat in a twofold manner: a) it is a step backward in the sense that it means an increase in the misery, degradation, and suffering of the proletariat whose condition become progressively worse: b) it increases the ranks of the proletariat and arouses a more acute class-consciousness among the workers, breeds discontent, envy, and resentment which are powerful forces for revolution. In general, it shortens the period of the purgatory of capitalism. (1)

The proletariat is a class with a definite mission, a vocation. It is the most revolutionary class the world has ever known (2), the class which supports all revolutionary movements against the existing social and political order(3), the class which is destined to "destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property"(4), to achieve world emanici-

(1) Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 21; cf. Marx, K., Capital, Vol. I pp. 836-37: 709

(2) Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, p. 263; Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 19

(3) Ibid., pp. 43-44

(4) Ibid., p. 20

pation (1), to abolish all classes, including itself, and introduce an association in which labor will cease to be the attribute of any particular class because it will be the unique characteristic of all. (2) The broad sweep of vision and the universal ramifications of the role of the proletariat are well indicated by Gurian when he states that "the mission of the proletariat is to bring about what is not quite within the power of the bourgeoisie: the industrialization and rationalization of the whole world, the utilization of every possibility of economic progress." (3)

The mission of the proletariat, for Marx and Engels, is something which is rooted in the economic structure of existing society, a product of scientific analysis and not the utopian dream which, because the material conditions were not yet present, dominated the doctrines of previous would-be-reformers. Engels and Marx constantly repeat that only full development of production provides an objective basis for the "leap into freedom". The struggle of the proletariat for emancipation, its

(1) Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, p. 310

(2) Marx, K., The Civil War in France, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 503

(3) Gurian, W., Rise and Decline of Marxism, p. 37

efforts to attain a society without classes are not a question of something proposed at will by an individual or a class but something which they will be forced to do as a result of their own situation in society, as a result of an objective set of conditions in which the class finds itself. (1) Just as the bourgeoisie was impelled by objective social conditions to burst the shackles of feudal society, so too the proletariat is forced by its condition to follow a line of action which will annihilate the foundations of bourgeois society. The proletariat fights, not as representative of an individual class alone, but as the herald of socialized humanity.

It is on this basis of an objective analysis that Marx and Engels reject the idea of a future classless society as a state which "ought to come" and insist upon it as a state that "will or must come". In other words, the triumph of the proletariat is "inevitable", not because of its own wishes or desires but because of the nature of things. This question of the inevitability of the ultimate transition of capitalist society to socialist society by way of a pro-

(1) Marx, K., La Saint Famille in Oeuvres Philosophiques Tome, II, pp. 62-63.

lectarian revolution admit of no doubt in the communist scheme of things. (1)

Bourgeoisie If the bourgeoisie, the class which was the means of revolution, is the object of Marx's most scathing denunciations, it is at the same time, no less the recipient of his highest praise. This class which emerged from feudal society as the new economic and, consequently, political power has, more than any other class in history, contributed unwittingly to the ultimate emancipation of man. This it has done by un-
consciously fulfilling its historical mission which is the development of the

productive forces of society to a level which will make possible an equal development, worthy of human beings for all members of society. All earlier forms of society were too poor for this. Capitalist production for the first time creates

(1) The following references represent but a few of the innumerable reiterations of this idea in communist literature: Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 21; Marx, K., Civil War in France, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 504; Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, pp. 33; 174-5; 183; 202-03; Engels, F., The Origin of the State, Family, and Private Property, p. 158; Lenin, V., What is to be Done, L. L. L., Vol. 4, p. 65; Lenin, V., Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, L. L. L., Vol. 15, p. 11; Lenin, V., State and Revolution, p. 73; Marx-Engels, Marxism, pp 34; 156

the wealth and the productive forces necessary for this but at the same time it also creates in the mass of oppressed workers the social class which is more and more compelled to claim the utilization of this wealth and these productive forces for the whole of society--instead of as today for a monopolist class (1)

Thus it is only the accomplishments of the bourgeoisie--accomplishments which represent, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, the most perfect expression of human activity (2) - that make a proletarian revolution and a classless society possible. (3) The bourgeoisie has played a revolutionary role in history, has destroyed the production relations characteristic of feudal society, has unleashed tremendous productive forces which have reached a point where they are unable to operate freely within the limits of bourgeois production relations. The result is anarchy in production, crises, overproduction, a mad race for markets. For this reason "the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society...its

(1) Engels, F., Marx's Capital, (article in Demokratisches Wochenblatt, #13, Mar 28, 1836) in Engels, "On Capital" pp. 10-11: also in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 345-6.

(2) Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 11-14

(3) Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 203

existence is no longer compatible with society."(1)
A necessary class for social progress it has become a
superfluous class, unable to control the mighty forces
it has developed and these forces-operating like the
forces in nature, blindly, destructively-are wreaking
havoc in society. Only with the overthrow of the bour-
geoisie will it be possible to subdue these forces and
subject them to man's domination just as other natural
forces such as electricity and fire.(2) It is not that
the bourgeoisie as such has become superfluous but that
the objective conditions of society render all classes
superfluous.

And in fact the abolition of social classes has
as its presupposition a stage of historical de-
velopment at which the existence not merely of
some particular ruling class or other but of any
ruling class at all, that is to say, of class
difference itself, has become an anachronism, is
out of date. It therefore presupposes that the
development of production has reached a level at
which the appropriation of means of production and
of products, and with these, of political supremacy,
the monopoly of education and intellectual leader-
ship by a special class of society, has become not
only superfluous but also economically, politically
and intellectually a hindrance to development (3)

-
- (1) Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 21
(2) Engels, F, Anti-Duhring, p. 305
(3) Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, p. 308

Bourgeois production has extended rationalization of industry and life to such an extent that the process of production has been broken down into simple tasks within the reach of all. Every man is able to perform all the functions of society and should do so in order to achieve a rich, full development of his personality. The bourgeoisie, however, fails to recognize its outmoded character or, if it does recognize it, is unwilling to yield its dominating position and must consequently, be overthrown by the proletariat, the class which holds the future in its hands.

A final word remains to be said about the classes which, existing apart from the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, are drawn into the class struggle in spite of themselves. We may, following Marx, designate these classes as the middle class, in the sense that they stand between the two poles of social opposition, bourgeoisie, and proletariat or again, one might call them the petty bourgeoisie as Marx and Engels do on occasion.(1) As

(1) Also Lenin, when he says "...we know but three classes in capitalist and semi-capitalist society; the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie (with peasantry as its chief representative), and the proletariat." Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?, L.L.L., Vol. 12, pp.11: 37. On other occasions Lenin, as Marx and Engels will speak of the peasants as distinguished from the petty bourgeoisie, thus returning to a fourfold division.

such, the middle class is not one but multiple including many elements as Turner points out.

As for the middle class, membership in it, according to the Marxist view, is determined mainly by two test: Property ownership and economic function. The so-called middle class is, of course, not one but many; it includes all elements of the population between large capitalists and propertyless wage earners; all small capitalists and enterprisers, all relatively small employers, all owners or operators of ordinary farming property, members of professional classes and at least all salaried employees not in the lower brackets. While originally the term "bourgeoisie" was applied to the industrial and commercial elements as a whole, distinguishing them from the nobility on the one hand and the lower classes on the other, Marx in writing of the capitalist epoch, in most cases used it in reference to the larger capitalists, reserving "petty bourgeoisie" for the smaller fry, otherwise the "middle" elements, the middle class (1)

Although Marx and Engels do lump together all classes in a position between the oppressor and the oppressed, still hardly less frequently do they dissolve this middle or petty bourgeoisie class into two general sections - petty bourgeoisie (comprising small trading and shopkeeping class and, in general,

(1) Turner, J. K., op. cit., p. 29

all enumerated above by Turner except those connected with agriculture) and peasants. (1) In this sense we can speak of four classes, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, peasants and proletariat. We preserve this division in the following discussion of petty bourgeoisie and peasants.

Petty bourgeoisie Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of this class, for Marx and Engels, is its oscillatory nature. It is caught on the twin pincers of hope and fear - hope in individual members of the class that they will be able to rise into the bourgeoisie class properly so called and fear lest the turn of fortune should hurl them down into the ever-growing ranks of the proletariat. At times they are hostile to the classes above and below them - to the class above because it has retarded their advance in the socio-economic ladder due to the ruthless competition exercised by the former which makes the efforts of the petty bourgeois to maintain his small trade,

(1) cf. for example, Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France, in Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 204; 225: 232: 234

enterprise, etc., increasingly difficult; hostile to the proletariat because it threatens the existence of the economic order which sustains, if somewhat imperfectly and precariously, the position of the petty bourgeoisie, the majority of whom do not desire the abolition of classes or property but a betterment of their own class position and an increase of their property. Thus they are conservative and reactionary, reformists, not revolutionists; they wish to change things, improve conditions, eliminate the evils of society without eliminating the bourgeois form of society which is actually the source of all their miseries and difficulties. Marx and Engel's final word on them is that they are, in spite of themselves and as a result of developing economic conditions, being hurled constantly into the ranks of the proletariat. (1) Lenin sounds a word of

(1) "as to the petty bourgeoisie, artisans, and shopkeepers they will always remain the same. They hope to raise themselves into the big bourgeoisie by swindling, they are afraid of being pushed down into the proletariat. Between fear and hope, they will in times of struggle seek to save their precious skin and to join the victors when the struggle is over. Such is their nature... They are extremely unreliable except when a victory has been won, and then their shouting in the beerhouses knows no bounds. Nevertheless there are very good elements among them, who of their own accord join up with the workers." Engels, F., Prefatory note to The Peasant War in Germany in Marx, K., Selected Works,

caution regarding them and asserts that they remain infected by bourgeois and petty bourgeois tendencies and therefore the vanguard of the party must be constantly on its guard to check the growth of such tendencies and ideologies within the ranks of the proletariat. (1)

Peasants In speaking of the peasants one generally excludes the big peasants for they are a part of the bourgeoisie. (2) This class is conservative by nature, has not the initiative and foresight necessary for a successful revolution. It can accomplish this only under the hegemony of the industrial workers of the urban areas who are more keenly aware of the problems facing society and the means to be employed for their

Vol. II, pp. 538-39: 225. cf. also, in the same volume, Germany, Revolution and Counter-Revolution, pp. 45-46: the petty bourgeoisie is essentially "a transition class, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously deadened."

Marx, K., The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 350. Lenin, V., "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, L. L. L., Vol. 20, p. 57: The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, L. L. L., Vol. 21, p. 36

Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, pp. 17, 34

(1) cf., for example, Lenin-Stalin, Marxism and Revisionism, passim, L. L. L. Vol. 29

(2) Engels, F., Prefatory note to The Peasant War in Germany in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 539

resolution. (1) Because the peasants - small landholders of all kinds, agricultural workers, and in general, the poorer peasants - are exploited by capital, an exploitation differing only in form from that of the industrial proletariat (2), they are willing to join hands with the proletariat in an effort to break the stranglehold of the bourgeoisie upon their economic life. In this sense, they form the natural allies of the proletariat (3) and the proletariat must take advantage of this coincidence of interests, must utilize it for the realization of the ultimate task, for the solution of "the great problem of the nineteenth century, the abolition of the proletariat".(4) The proletariat must seek alliance with the peasants because of their sheer weight of numbers, this class constitu-

(1) Engels, F., Germany, Revolution and Counter-revolution, in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 48-49: 62-63. In the same volume, Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France, p. 298

(2) Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France in Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 282-83

(3) This is particularly true of the agricultural proletariat. cf. Engels, F., Prefatory note to The Peasant War in Germany, in Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 540-41

(4) Engels, F., Germany, Revolution and Counter-revolution, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 47

ting the majority of the nation in France and Germany at the time of Marx's writings and in Russia in the epoch of Leninism. This factor, a matter of history, admitted by the communists, places in doubt their contrary assertions that the interests of the proletariat - the industrial urban worker - represent the interests of the vast majority. We defer consideration of this problem, however, to a later period of our study.

The peasantry, "the class that represents barbarism within civilization" (1) is slow to react to the pressing social problems of the day because of its isolation from the dynamic force of history - production. It only begins to emerge from its lethargy as a result of bourgeois invasion into all domains of life and, thanks to this movement, is liberated from the "idiocy of rural life" (2) which will become nationalized by a vast program of mechanization in the future society. Marx - and all the communists after him - was enchanted, hypnotized by the power of machines to

(1) Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 233.

(2) Marx-Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 13

such a degree that the primitive methods represented the grossest stupidity.

The peasant suffers the same fate as the petty bourgeois; he is constantly being hurled into the ranks of the proletariat under the pressure of economic conditions. His attitudes resemble those of the petty bourgeois described above - hostility towards other classes, desire of rising, fear of descending in the socio-economic scale, not revolutionary but conservative; seeks to roll back the wheels of history in his attempts to preserve bourgeois production relations, especially private property but is forced to submit to the inner logic of history, the dynamic of the dialectic which sweeps all before it. (1) He is still resting on the viewpoint of civil society and not that of human society or socialized humanity; he is animated by egotistical rather than by human sentiments. Unlike the enlightened proletariat, the peasant class fails to see that its condition and the structure of society is the result, not of the caprice and desires of the will of bourgeoisie, but of objective factors which both brought the

(1) Ibid., pp. 17; 19-20. Lenin, V., The Peasantry and the Working Class, in Capitalism and Agriculture, L. L. L., Vol. 30, pp. 58-59

bourgeoisie into being and will just as surely and inevitably be the root cause of its disappearance and the disappearance of all classes. The peasant class, ignorant of the dialectical, objective nature of the historical process, must be educated and enlightened, a process which takes years.

It must not be thought that petty bourgeoisie and peasants are not wooed by the ruling classes. The bourgeoisie has not been unaware of the importance of numerical support and in its revolution against feudal society it sought allies among these very classes. To preserve its position it continues to make certain concessions such as universal suffrage, political emancipation, while concealing under legalistic phrases and high-sounding titles the real economic enslavement which is the necessary condition of a society based on the opposition of classes. In the following pages we shall see that in spite of the neat theory, according to which these classes inevitably tumble into the proletarian ranks, there is a bitter ideological and practical struggle between

bourgeoisie and proletariat to win over these middle classes. In fact, victory in this minor skirmish, so to speak, is a vital factor in determining the rate of speed with which communism will spread throughout the world and has, consequently, great influence upon the entire theory and tactics of the class struggle to which we now turn our attention.

- Section 2 - The Class Struggle -

If, in his youth, Marx was given over to consideration of speculative questions, it is quite evident that, once he had uncovered the secrets of the philosophy of nature and society, he denied and abandoned speculative philosophy in order to throw himself wholeheartedly into the work, not of interpreting but, of changing the world. The dialectical processes which he had absorbed from Hegel were materialized by Feuerbach and applied by Marx to the most important result of evolutionary development - human society. The dialectic of Hegel was an empty, speculative world which Feuerbach tried to fill but only went halfway. It was Marx who filled the void with the doctrine of the class struggle, an empirical dialectic in a real world producing real, tangible, sensible, results. He went beyond Hegel

whose "construction of history exists only in the consciousness, the opinion and the representation of the philosopher, only in the speculative imagination" (1), and discovered the concrete history of men. In other words, to Hegel's purely conceptual history he opposed a real, empirical history; to the antagonism, conflict and struggle of ideas he opposed the struggle of classes. Thus, Hegel's method was not abandoned but transformed, concretized, and materialized.

If some labor under the impression that Marx is the discoverer of the class struggle the error cannot be attributed to any deception on the part of Marx or the Marxists because there is much evidence in Marxist literature which indicates the contrary. In fact, it must be said of the Marxists that on many occasions they indicate the original sources of their doctrines. What is claimed, however, is that Marx and Engels - later Lenin and today Stalin - saw further and deeper than the original discoverers. Thus, in a letter, since become a classic in Marxist literature, Marx states:

...and now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in so-

(1) Marx, K., La Sainte Famille in Oeuvres Philosophiques Tome II, p. 152

ciety, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is bound up with particular, historic phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. (1)

Marx took the doctrine of the class struggle and and placed it upon a scientific foundation by his analysis of the economic structure of society which contains the fundamental contradictions expressed humanly in the class struggle. The famous lines of the Manifesto, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the ... history of class struggles," (2) stress the dialectical nature of social development, and express succinctly, what is for the Marxists, the basis of all political

(1) Marx, K., Letter to J. Weydemeyer, London, March 5, 1852. On forerunners of Marx relative to the doctrine of class struggle see, V. G. Simkhovitch, Marxism Versus Socialism, pp. 147-184; Sombart, W., Socialism and the Social Movement, pp. 2; 48-49. Letter of Marx to Engels, London July 27, 1854. Lenin, V., The Teachings of Karl Marx in Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 32: State and Revolution, p. 30

(2) p. 9 The lines are an echo of Guizot's earlier formulation: "The struggles of class against class form the contents of modern history." Quoted in Sombart, op. cit., p. 49

history, (1) the immediate driving force of history, (2) and the "conclusion which world history teaches". (3)

Classes are the fruits of economic conditions and once they come into being they react upon economic development. Human activity may affect the inevitable progress towards a socialist society by actions which retard it or by actions which favor and assist it. (4) The bourgeoisie will naturally struggle to retard economic development along the natural lines of its evolution; not that it will cease to produce or to seek new and improved techniques, but in the sense that it will oppose any movement towards the socialization of means

(1) Engels, F., History of the Communist League, in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 11

(2) "...in particular the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (is) the great lever of modern social revolution." Marx-Engels, Letter to Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke and Others, London, September, 1879.

(3) Lenin, V., The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism, in Marx, K., Selected Works, p. 59

(4) Engels, F., Letter to Conrad Schmidt, London, October 27, 1890.

Kautsky, K., The Class Struggle "Many are the ways in which the economic development may be influenced: it may be hastened or it may be retarded; its results may be made more, or less, painful; only one thing is impossible - to stop its course, or turn it back." p. 92
Labriola, A., Essays on the Materialistic Interpretation of History, pp. 28-30

Miliukov, P., Bolshevism, An International Danger, pp. 99-100

of production and inroads on private property, If the bourgeoisie fights vehemently to protect and retain its production relations, the proletariat must fight even more vehemently to dissolve those relations and the economic structure in which they are rooted. In one of his earlier works Marx outlines very clearly what might be termed the metaphysics of the entire class struggle. We take the liberty of quoting it at length because the exposition is remarkably clear and is, as it were, the leitmotiv of Marx's social philosophy.

Proletariat and wealth are opposites. As such they constitute a whole. They are two phases of the world of private property. It is a question of determining the position which each assumes in the antinomy; it is not enough to say that they are two sides of a whole.

Private property as private property, as wealth is compelled to preserve itself and, in consequence, its opposite, the proletariat. It is the positive side of the antithesis, private property satisfied with itself.

On the other hand, the proletariat as proletariat is forced to abolish itself and, consequently, the very condition which sustains it in being, that is, private property. It is the negative side of the antithesis, private property, dissatisfied with itself, dissolved and dissolving itself.

The possessing class and the proletariat both suffer from the same alienation. The former however is complacent in its position, realizing that the alienation constitutes its own power and thus possesses the appearance of a human existence in it; the latter, on the contrary, feels

itself annihilated in this alienation of its essence, sees there its importance and the reality of an inhuman existence. Finding itself debased, to employ an expression of Hegel, it revolts against this debasement and necessarily so, being impelled thereto by the contradiction existing between its human nature and its position which is an overt, clear and absolute negation of that nature.

Within the antithesis, the private property-owners are the conservative, the proletarian the destructive part. The former seeks to maintain, the latter to destroy the antimony.

It is true that private property, in its economic movement, advances towards its own dissolution; but it does it only by an independent and unconscious evolution against its own will, solely because it produces the proletariat as proletariat, misery conscious of its spiritual and physical misery, dehumanization conscious of itself, etc., for that reason, seeking to annihilate itself. The proletariat fulfills the judgment which private property, by producing the proletariat, pronounces upon itself just as it fulfills the judgment pronounced by wage labor upon itself by creating another's wealth and its own misery. When the proletariat triumphs, it does not thereby become the absolute aspect of society for it is victorious only in so far as it abolishes itself and its opposite. Then, the proletariat and its conditioning opposite both disappear.

When socialist writers attribute this world role to the proletariat it is not at all...because they consider the proletarians as gods. Quite the contrary. In the fully developed proletariat abstraction has been made of all humanity and even the semblance of humanity and even the semblance of humanity; in the existential conditions of the proletariat are condensed, under their most inhuman form, all the living conditions of contemporary society; though man has lost himself, at the same time, he has not only acquired a theo-

retical consciousness of this loss but practically he has been compelled directly - by the distress henceforth inescapable, impossible to palliate, by an absolutely imperious necessity - to revolt against this inhumanity; for all these reasons the proletariat can and must liberate itself. Yet it cannot liberate itself without abolishing its own conditions of existence which it cannot do without abolishing all the inhuman living conditions of contemporary society which are crystallized in the status of the proletariat. (1)

It is on the basis of this bitter, necessary struggle that the communists plot their plan of campaign which will overcome the desperate defense offered by the bourgeoisie and hasten the inevitable dawn of the worker's triumph. They must smash the opposition and the one way to do that according to Lenin, "is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, and to enlighten and organize for the struggle, the forces which can and, by their social position, must form the power capable of sweeping away the old and establishing the new." (2) The organizational structure of the masses for the struggle is indicated by Engels when, in praise of the German workers, he says, "For the first time since a

(1) Marx, K., La Sainte Famille in Oeuvres Philosophiques pp. 60-63

(2) Lenin, V., The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism, in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. I p. 59

workers' movement has existed, the struggle is being conducted from its three sides, the theoretical, the political, and the practical-economic (resistance to the capitalist), in harmony, co-ordination and in a planned way." (1) This threefold division will be the basis of our treatment of the class struggle which follows.

- Theoretical: -

In the field of theory there is one thing firmly and irrevocably established - all without exception must follow the "party or general line". Now this general line is determined from above - Stalin being today the infallible interpreter of the teachings of Lenin who was the greatest interpreter of Marx and Engels. One example of this is seen in the protest of Stalin against the idea of whether or not Lenin was a real Bolshevik. Such a question definitely cannot be made the matter of discussion. It is beyond doubt. "It is an axiom" that Lenin represents the true Bolshevik. (2) His

(1) Engels, F., Prefatory Note to The Peasant War in Germany in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 548

(2) Stalin, J., Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism, in Marxism and Revisionism, L.I.L. Vol. 29, p. 52 ff.

actions are the model for all Bolsheviks, and to speculate about his orthodoxy is to forget that Lenin is orthodoxy.

Now communism is a philosophy of change, of action. It is in action that the correctness of theory is proved but it is imperative for action that the workers be united and guided by theory.

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement...The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory. (1)

There can be no strong socialist party in the absence of a revolutionary theory uniting all the socialists, from which they draw all their convictions and which they apply in their modes of struggle and methods of activity. (2) (Our Italics)

These phrases of Lenin are frequently repeated in his works, a fact insisted upon by Stalin. (3) In keeping with the dialectical nature of human events there is necessarily imposed upon the leaders of the party the obligation of continually elaborating new as-

(1) Lenin, V., What is to be Done, L.L.L., Vol. 4, p. 28

(2) Lenin, V., On the Theory of Marxism, L.L.L., Vol. 31, p. 26. This article is also in Marx-Engels- Marxism, pp. 63-65

(3) Stalin, J., Foundations of Leninism, L.L.L. Vol. 18, p. 29

peculiarities of theory in adopting party tactics to changing conditions. The general principles have been elaborated by Marx, but the details must be worked out in day-to-day practice. This is what Lenin meant when he said,

We do not by any means look upon the theory of Marx as something final and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it only laid the cornerstone of the science which socialists must advance in all directions, if they do not want to lag behind events. (1)

It is just because Marxism is no dead dogma, no final ready-made, unchangeable doctrine, but a living guide to action, it is just because of this that it could not but reflect the strikingly sharp change in the conditions of social life. (2)

Only those persons are eligible for party membership who subscribe wholeheartedly to the doctrine of Marx and Engels as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin. (3) Whatever concessions may be made for the sake of expediency, for the sake of infiltration of the masses,

(1) Lenin, V., On the Theory of Marxism, L.L.L., Vol. 31, p. 26

(2) Lenin, V., On Some Peculiarities of the Historical Development of Marxism, in Marx-Engels - Marxism p. 88

(3) In the early days one of the requirements of party membership was a mastery of the principles of Marx-Engels-Leninism, but in later years a complete acceptance even without comprehension, suffices. See Chamberlain, W., L'Enigme Russe, p. 185; Dallin, D., The Real Soviet Russia, p. 226

whatever tactics may be employed to avoid interference with the final objective, to disrupt bourgeois policy, to stir up discontent among the masses or to prove that the party has the interests of the people at heart, in no case must theory be abandoned even though it may be less vigorously promulgated, depending on special circumstances. Materialism, dialectics, the class struggle, world revolution, Marx's economic doctrines extended and amplified by Lenin's teaching, the overthrow of bourgeois society, the smashing of the state machine and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the vanguard of the workers of the world, all these fundamental teachings must be retained and elaborated under the guiding hand of the party. (1) Strategic retreats must be combined with bold attack, atheistic propaganda with scientific explanation of the origin and development of the universe, devotion to the party with hatred of its enemies. Some tactics of the struggle may call for temporary compromises or combination. For guidance in such cases Lenin cites the words of Marx, "If you must combine, then enter into agreements to

(1) Lenin, V., What is to be Done, L.I.L., Vol. 4, p.24
Lenin states here that the successful growth of the movement is impossible without theoretical work.

satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not haggle over principles, do not make 'concessions in theory'." (1)

- Political -

Among the Marxists there is a heavy emphasis upon the political aspects of the class struggle. Indeed it might be said that all other aspects of the class struggle are subordinated to and ordered towards the realization of complete power in the political sphere. Speaking of the success enjoyed by the socialists or communists from 1848 to 1894, Engels, after having pointed out that they were following tactics indicated by the Manifesto, continues by asserting,

They take an active part in all the phases of the development of the struggle between the two classes without in so doing losing sight of the fact that these phases are just so many preliminary steps to the first great aim: the conquest of political power by the proletariat as the means towards a new organization of society. (2)

(1) Ibid., p. 27

(2) Engels, F., Letter to Turati, London, June 26, 1894. For the same idea cf. Letter of Marx to A. Bolte, London November 23, 1871. Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 22: Marx-Engels, German Ideology, p. 23

Lenin merely repeats this basic idea when, in speaking of the theory of Marx, he says that it made clear the real task of a revolutionary socialist party - "the organization of the class struggle and the leadership of this struggle, the final aim of which is the winning of political power by the proletariat and the organization of a socialist society." (1)

The conquest of political power, though the final aim of political activity and the class struggle in general, is not sought for its own sake, however, but

(1) Lenin, V., On the Theory of Marxism, L.I.I. Vol. 31 p. 25. "The contest of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, assuming various forms which grow continually wider in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle aiming at the conquest of political power by the proletariat." Lenin, V., Karl Marx, in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. I., p. 45; Lenin carried over the emphasis on political power and domination to the construction of the new communist society which is distinguished by an excessive and complete politicization and social constructivism. Cf. Gurian, op. cit., p. 154 ff.: "... The mass of the workers will never allow themselves to be persuaded that the public affairs of their country are not also their own affairs; they are by nature political and whoever tries to make out to them that they should leave politics alone will in the end get left in the lurch. To preach that the workers should in all circumstances abstain from politics is to drive them into the arms of the priests or the bourgeois republicans." Engels, F., Letter to Theodore Cuno, January 24, 1872. Cf., Engels, F., Introduction to The Class Struggles in France, Marx, K., Selected Works Vol. II, pp. 182-3, where Engels stresses the benefits of parliamentary action following from universal suffrage; see also pp. 187-189. Karl Marx, Letter to A Bolte, London, London, November 23, 1871

as a means to a more important aim - the final economic emancipation of the working class - for which political conquest is an absolutely indispensable condition. (1) The emancipation of the proletariat must be the work of the proletariat itself, but this is impossible unless the proletariat carries on a constant struggle for political power. (2) For Marx, political activity is a duty.

"...to conquer political power has become the great duty of the working classes...the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary by All means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations. The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes. (3)

(1) Marx, K., Address and Provisional Rules of the Workingmen's International Association, Selected Works, Vol. II p. 442. "...the economical emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means."

(2) "...in order that it may fight for its economic emancipation, the proletariat must win for itself certain political rights." Lenin, V., Frederick Engels, in Marx-Engels-Marxism, p. 41

(3) Marx, K., Address and Provisional Rules of the Workingmen's International Association, in Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 440-41. The mention of duty and right which appears in the first paragraph of the Preamble drawn up by Marx (Ibid., p. 442), and a similar passage which appears further on ("...this International association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all

In the foregoing citations Marx is concerned first with action in the national sphere, then on the international level. The members of the working class must never permit indifference to political conditions to dull the sharpness of the class struggle. Agitation, propaganda, cooperation, opposition, all must be employed to support any movement which furthers the cause, either positively by improving the conditions of the workers themselves or negatively by weakening the power and authority of those who hold the reins of government. In supporting the measures and reforms of other groups, the workers must be guided by proletarian

men without regard to creed, colour or nationality" (*Ibid.*, p. 443) are instances of pure expediency as Marx himself admits. In a letter to Engels, London, November 4, 1864, he indicates this when he states, "My proposals were all accepted by the sub-committee. Only I was obliged to insert two phrases about "duty" and "right", into the preamble to the statutes, ditto "truth, morality and justice," but these are placed in such a way that they can do no harm...It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our viewpoint should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement...It will take some time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech." The same thing is true of course of the phrase, "the simple laws of morals and justice" which appear earlier and the whole affair is a practical and clear demonstration of tactics to be employed in the use of language to conceal one's real thoughts and designs until the moment is propitious.

aims and principle. (1)

The workers must always vigorously repulse every attempt to restrict in any manner the rights of freedom of the press, of association and assembly because these are "indispensable to their independent organization as a class party." (2) As Engels points out, this independent organization of the workers is of vital importance to the cause of the revolution in order that the workers may be strong enough, through a development of their political power, to conquer their

...political domination, the only door into the new society. For the proletariat to be strong enough to conquer on the day of decision, it is

(1) Stressing the need for an independent workers organization, Engels writes that "it does not imply that this party cannot for a short time make use of other parties for its aims. Nor does it imply that it cannot support other parties for a short time in measures that are immediately advantageous to the proletariat or which are advances in the sense of economic development or political freedom...I am, however, for it only if the advantage for us is direct or if the advantage for historical development of the country, in the direction of the economic and proletarian revolution, is incontestable and worth the trouble. And presupposed that the proletarian class character of the Party is not put in question thereby. This represents for me the absolute limit. You will find this policy expounded as early as 1847 in the Communist Manifesto and we followed it in 1848, in the International and throughout." Letter to Trier, December 18, 1889, Cf. Communist Manifesto, pp. 22; 43-44

(2) Engels, F., Marx and The Neue Rheinische Zeitung in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 31

necessary, and this view Marx and I have upheld since 1847, that it should form its own party, separated from all others, and opposed to them, a class conscious, class party. (1)

Without an independent organization, without the enjoyment of free press, and such, the proletariat will be seriously hampered in its theoretical struggle which must serve as the basis of the practical struggle. There can be no revolution unless people become conscious of the need for revolution, until they are persuaded and convinced that their misery is due to the selfishness of the ruling class which seeks to preserve in being production relations which enslave the majority of the people and are the causes of crises, overproduction and the destruction of products in order to maintain high prices and profits. The press offers a fruitful field for criticism of governmental policy, criticism which can arouse, foster, and inflame class consciousness and a revolutionary spirit. But to be effective this criticism must penetrate the consciousness of the masses. Then it becomes a power, a force

(1) Engels, F., Letter to Trier, December 18, 1889

which is effective. (1)

Political activity, though it supports theoretical activity and economic activity, must go beyond these. It must be concretized, applied to actual situations and exposures by members of the proletariat working in bourgeois parliaments from within. It must be directed not only towards the instruction of the working class but of all members of society in an effort to draw to the side of the proletariat the fluctuating population which holds an intermediate place between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The proletariat can never hope to win over all these to share completely the proletarian interests but it can foster unrest and a hostile attitude towards the ruling class. (2)

(1) "The weapon of criticism cannot replace the criticism of weapons. Physical force must be overthrown by physical force; but theory, too, becomes a physical force as soon as it penetrates the masses." Marx, K., Contribution a la Critique de la Philosophie du Droit de Hegel, Oeuvres Philosophiques, Tome I, p. 96

(2) Lenin declares that the party "must arouse in every section of the population that is at all enlightened a passion for political exposure...Political exposures are as much a declaration of war against the government as economic exposures are a declaration of war against the employers...in themselves they serve as a powerful means for disintegrating the system we oppose, the means for diverting from the enemy his casual or temporary allies, (Petty bourgeois elements are the casual or temporary allies) who permanently share power with the autocracy." One of the most pressing needs of the proletariat is, we are told, "an all-sided

The writings of Lenin contain a vast amount of detail regarding political activity which it is impossible for us to consider here. In general, we may say that he, acutely aware of a celebrated phrase in communist literature - "every class struggle is a political struggle" (1) - advocates every form of political activity which is not incompatible with the final aims of the movement. Participation in bourgeois parliaments, compromises, intrigue, combination of legal and illegal methods, all and any means which will secure for the proletariat the furthering of its aims. (2)

political education through the medium of political agitation and political exposures." What is to be Done? L.L.L., Vol. 4, pp. 84-86. Cf. also Engels, Introduction to The Class Struggles in France in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II p. 185

(1) Marx-Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 18; Engels, F., Ludwig Feuerbach, p. 52

(2) The general attitude of the communists may be summed up in the following words of Lenin: "The strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to manoeuvre, to make agreements, zig-zags, retreats, and so on, as to accelerate the coming to power and subsequent loss of political power of the (bourgeoisie) ...to accelerate their inevitable bankruptcy in practice, which will enlighten the masses in the spirit of our ideas, in the direction of Communism; to accelerate the inevitable friction, quarrels, conflicts and complete disintegration among (other parties),...and to select the proper moment when the disintegration among these 'pillars of the sacred right of private property' is at its height, in order by a determined attack of the proletariat, to defeat them all and capture political power." Lenin, V., "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, L.L.L., Vol. 20, p. 76

Much of his writings on the subject of political activity was of a polemical nature against those who belittled its importance, particularly those who sought to limit the class struggle to the economic struggle which we now consider. (1)

- Economic -

Marx and Engels would certainly have been delighted had they lived to see the vast network of trade-union organizations which today are found within the economic structure of all advanced countries. What a fertile field for revolutionary propaganda, millions of workers united in organized groups devoted to the task of prosecuting the interests of labor! That they would have been displeased by the conservative character of some of these organizations goes without saying, but at the same time this very fact would but emphasize the vital importance of infiltrating these unions. This fact was recognized by Lenin and is an important feature of

(1) On the general theory of strategy and tactics, Stalin recommends the following volumes of Lenin: (All in L.L.L.) What is to be Done?, Vol. 4; State and Revolution, Vol. 14; Imperialism, Vol. 15; "Left-Wing" Communism, Vol. 20; The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Vol. 21; Two-Tactics, Vol. 22, Cf. Stalin, J., Foundation of Leninism, L.L.L., Vol. 18, p. 89

present day communist strategy and tactics.

From the very beginning the economic struggle has been recognized as a necessary phase of the class struggle. To carry on the economic struggle there is no more effective weapon than the trade-unions which help to bridge over the wide cleavage existing between employer and employee, labor and capital, in the matter of economic power. The banding together of workers into unions amplifies into a strong and authoritative voice the futile whisperings of the demands of isolated individuals. Even of greater importance from the communist point of view is the fact that trade unions are an effective means of class organization, serve as training schools for the workers and lay the foundations for a definitely class-conscious movement. These aspects of the trade-union movement were pointed out by Engels when he asserted that one of the defects of the Gotha Program was the omission of a reference to trade unions.

Fifthly, there is not a word about the organization of the working class as a class by means of the trade unions. And that is a very essential point, for this is the real class organisation of the proletariat, in which it carries on its daily struggles with capital, in which it trains itself.(1)

(1) Engels, F., Letter to A. Bebel, London, March 18-28, 1875

Trade unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. (1)

The trade unions were a tremendous progressive step for the working classes at the beginnings of the development of capitalism, inasmuch as they represented a transition from the disunity and helplessness of the workers to the rudiments of class organisations. (2)

Some of the Socialists in Germany felt that the members of the party should remain aloof from reactionary trade unions, refusing to join them or resigning from participation in unions which had eventually begun to manifest definite reactionary tendencies. This point of view aroused the ire of Lenin and he denounced such an attitude in his usual vigorous language as "fundamentally wrong", "unpardonable blunder", "absurd theory".

And we cannot but regard as equally ridiculous and childish nonsense the ponderous, very learned, and frightfully revolutionary disquisitions of the German Lefts to the effect that Communists cannot and should not work in reactionary trade unions, that it is permissible to refuse to do such work, that it is necessary to leave the trade unions and create an absolutely brand new,

(1) Marx, K., Value, Price and Profit in Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 337: "Associations, with the trade unions arising from them, are...extremely important means for organising the working classes for the struggle against the bourgeoisie" Letter of Marx to Engels, London, February 18, 1865

(2) Lenin, V., "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, L.L.L.Vol. 20, p. 34

immaculate "Workers' Union" invented by very nice (and for the most part, probably very youthful) Communists. (1)

The correct attitude in the matter is just the opposite. A realistic appraisal of the situation reveals that one must expect to find a certain reactionary element in all trade unions. The workers are living in bourgeois society or in a society (in the case of Russia) which is emerging from a social structure dominated by bourgeois ideology. To scrape off the "muck", as Marx might have put it, of bourgeois society is a painful and slow process not to be achieved in a day or by a few speeches, but by day-to-day experience and struggle in which the workers learn the true nature of their position and the tasks which confront them. For this very reason the Communists must enter trade-unions in order to counteract the effects of bourgeois influence and traditions. The bourgeoisie for the same reason will attempt to prevent the "Communists joining the trade unions, to force them out by every means, to make their work in the trade unions as unpleasant as possible, to insult, bait and persecute them." (2) Thus the party

(1) Ibid., p. 33

(2) Ibid., p. 38

of the opposition realizes full well the rising importance of the trade-unions, which fact ought not be lost upon the communists who must, in spite of all opposition, get into the trade unions precisely in order to win over the workers to the cause and gain control of the unions.

We must be able to withstand all this, to agree to any sacrifice, and even - if need be - to resort to all sorts of stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs. (1)

You must try at all costs to win over the trade unions. (2)

(1) Ibid.,

(2) Marx, K., Letter to Speyer, Nov. 10, 1871. Listed among the fundamental strategic aims of the party program is the effort to extend "its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the Communist party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations. (Soviets, trade unions, factory councils, cooperative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.,) It is particularly important for this purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to capture the trade unions, which are genuine mass working-class organisations closely bound up with the every day struggles of the working class. To work in reactionary trade unions and skilfully to capture them to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organised workers, and to remove from their posts and replace the reformist leaders, are all important tasks in the preparatory period. The Programme of the Communist International adopted at the Sixth Congress, 1928, in Handbook of Marxism, edited by Emile Burns, International Publishers, N.Y., 1935, p. 1033. Further on it is stated that "It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a

The underlying basis of the desires of Marx, Engels, and Lenin that Communists should get into the trade unions is the fact that of themselves, trade unions and trade union politics are only the beginning of real proletarian-communist union, consciousness and politics: they can become vital factors in the real emancipation of labor - abolition of classes - only when they are communist inspired and directed. If this latter condition does not obtain then - and here is the crux of the whole matter - they are bourgeois-inspired and directed! There is no middle ground, no possibility of real neutrality in the titanic, ultimate class struggle of pre-communist society. The issue is clear cut - either bourgeois domination, and continued slavery, or communist leadership and economic emancipation.

...the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course

trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organisation. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defence of the interest of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organised workers over to the side of the party". (Ibid., p. 1038 (all italics ours))

(for humanity has not created a "third" ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology. (1)

Lenin flatly rejects the idea that the trade union movement will spontaneously evolve into a real socialist movement. (2) Such an evolution must be directed by those who see farther and deeper (the party members) than the mass of workers.

- Revolution -

The conflicts, struggles and minor skirmishes on the theoretical, political and economic levels all find

(1) Lenin, V., What is to be Done, L.L.L., Vol. 4, p.41. This same idea inspires Lenin's repeated assertions that the Communists must not confine their activities solely to workers groups but extend them to all the classes of society. They must penetrate and indoctrinate all groups, otherwise, the party will fail in a necessary part of its program - to capture a large number of the floating, vacillating petty bourgeoisie and peasants who stand between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Not to capture them is to abandon them to bourgeois domination.

(2) Lenin was quite emphatic about the limited nature of trade-union activities. He fought constantly against "Economism" (as he termed it) which endeavored to make the economic, rather than the political struggle, the essence of the class struggle, Cf. pp. 67-75 below and Lenin's, What is to be Done, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, and Two-Tactics Vols. 4, 20 and 22 respectively of the Little Lenin Library.

their complete and ultimate expression in the cataclysm of revolution. Marx who "was before all else a revolutionary", (1) saw in revolution a powerful force capable of liberating the proletariat from the shackles of industrial servitude, the basis of the complete enslavement of man. Whereas bourgeois ideologists, comfortably settled within capitalist society, looked upon revolution with horror as a desecration of the sacrosanct order, Marx and Engels regarded revolution as the dynamic source of all progress, as the "driving force of history". (2) In another striking phrase, Marx exclaimed, "Revolutions are the locomotives of history." (3) Engels speaks of "the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has resulted from every victorious revolution!" (4) Indeed, the right to revolution is the only "historical right." (5) Revolutions are the labor pains heralding the birth of a new and improved society.

Revolutions are not made at will but arise as the result of objective conditions which drive the oppressed

(1) Engels, F., Speech at the Graveside of K. Marx, in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 17

(2) Marx-Engels, German Ideology, p. 29

(3) Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 283

(4) Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, p. 203

(5) Engels, F., Introduction to The Class Struggles in France, in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 188

members of society to revolt against their oppressors. The state of the proletariat has become so miserable that in order to safeguard its very existence it must appropriate by force the totality of productive forces, which have dominated man instead of serving him. (1) This can be accomplished only by a revolution. The revolution of the proletariat will be the most complete revolution the world has ever seen because it departs from the pattern of previous revolutions - which merely substituted one class for another - by annihilating the foundations of any society based on classes.

- Conditions for a Proletarian Revolution -

Marx and Engels are quite explicit in their assertions that modern society alone has produced the conditions necessary for the creation of a society without classes. The proletarian revolution is based on certain objective conditions and their party "never imagined itself capable of producing, at any time and at its pleasure, that revolution which was to carry its ideas into practice." (2) To establish a society without

(1) Marx-Engels, German Ideology, pp. 66-67

(2) Engels, F., Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 148

classes which will put an end to the alienation of man, to the domination of the producers by their products, it is necessary that this "alienation" should have become an "intolerable" power.

For it to become an 'intolerable' power, i.e., a power against which men make a revolution, it must necessarily have rendered the great mass of humanity 'propertyless', and produced at the same time, the contradiction of an existing world of wealth and culture, both of which conditions presuppose a great increase in productive power, a high degree of its development. (1)

Thanks to the bourgeoisie these objective conditions have come into existence. By the inexorable logic of economic development the anarchy of bourgeois production has transformed "the immense majority of men more and more into proletarians." (2) The concentration and development of scattered limited means of production and their transformation "into the mighty levers of production of the present day, was precisely the historic mission of the capitalist mode of production and of its representative, the bourgeoisie." (3) How well the bourgeoisie accomplished its mission is seen in Engels confident assertion that conditions are ripe for

(1) Marx-Engels, German Ideology, p. 24

(2) Engels, F., Anti-Duhring, p. 299

(3) Ibid., p. 293

the transition to a classless society based on social ownership of the means of production.

The possibility of securing for every member of society, through social production, an existence which is not only fully sufficient from a material standpoint and becoming richer from day to day, but also guarantees them the completely unrestricted development and exercise of the physical and mental faculties - this possibility now exists for the first time, but it does exist. (1) (First italics ours)

Thus, according to theory, the objective conditions for a revolution exist, a propertyless majority which daily increases and a wealthy minority which daily decreases in number. Wealth is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands as "one capitalist always kills many." (2) Finally, the productive forces have developed to a stage where the possibility of an abundance of material goods and controlled production at last exists.

These objective conditions are the breeding ground of revolution. They give birth to misery, suffering,

(1) Ibid., p. 309: Pages 292-310 contain a good summary of the material conception of history and ideas which are repeated again and again throughout the works of Marx and Engels. "Only with big industry is abolition of private property possible." Marx-Engels, German Ideology, p. 64.

(2) Marx, K., Capital, Vol. I, p. 836: Poverty of Philosophy, p. 104: Engels, F. Anti-Duhring, p. 299

oppression, poverty, resentment, and envy among the proletariat and furnish fuel for the consuming fire of revolution which purifies society of its evils. The condition of the proletariat is the source of its strength and the source of progress, of change. The contradiction existing in the bosom of society is resolved by the drive and energy of the class which has been despoiled of all. The proletariat is for the bourgeois economists the bad side of capitalist production but it is precisely "the bad side that in the end triumphs over the good side. It is the bad side that produces the movement which makes history by providing a struggle." (1) Historians have often traced the collapse of a regime to the weakness of the ruling class, which began to corrupt from within. But they have neglected, according to Marx, the fact that "social reforms never result from the weakness of the strong but from the strength of the weak." (2) The tyranny, brutality and cruelty of ruling classes grows and extends itself over a wider area, enslaving and oppressing an ever-increasing mass of the people until by a dialectical process quantity changes into quality and the weakness

(1) Marx, K., Poverty of Philosophy, p. 103

(2) Marx, K., Morceaux Choisis, p. 197

of the oppressed becomes a power which sweeps all before it. The antagonism engendered by the anarchy of capitalist production is the source of all progress. (1) It is the very basis of civilization; no antagonism, no progress. (2) For this reason, the communist must not seek a reconciliation of the interests of proletariat and bourgeoisie, he must not be a reformist but a revolutionist. A reform is a sop thrown to the workers by their exploiters in an effort to deaden their revolutionary spirit. It is purely a tactical move by the enemy which is directed toward the preservation of its existence as the dominating class. "Reformism is nothing but concessions on the part of the ruling class: it does not signify the overthrow of this class: it signifies that concessions are made by it while it keeps power in its hands." (3)

Party policy does not reject completely reformism, There are certain advantages to be derived from the concessions made to the workers but reformism must be employed for revolutionary ends; it must not be permitted to gloss over the acuteness of the class struggle.

(1) Marx, K., Poverty of Philosophy, p. 59

(2) Ibid., p. 53

(3) Lenin, V., Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?
L.L.L., Vol. 12, p. 30

To accept reformism as something final and complete is to ignore the fundamental tenets of dialectics, especially its application to social life.

...if the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a law of development, it is clear that revolutions made by oppressed classes are a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon. Hence the transition from capitalism to socialism cannot be effected by slow changes, by reforms but only by a qualitative change of the capitalist system, by revolution. Hence, we must not cover up the contradiction of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, we must pursue an uncompromising class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromiser's policy of 'the growing of capitalism into socialism.' (1) (*Italics ours*)

In the foregoing quotation Stalin indicates an important aspect of Marxist teaching, sometimes overlooked. In speaking of misery, hunger, poverty, shame, etc., Marx was not without optimism for he saw in them

(1) Stalin, J., Dialectical and Historical Materialism, L.L.L., Vol. 25, p. 14; cf. also Stalin, J., Foundations of Leninism, L.L.L., Vol. 18, pp. 103-106. For the communists, "the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its abolition, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one." Marx-Engels, Address of the Central Council to the Communist League, in Marx, K., Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 161

a source of progress towards the goal.

Thus, one should not try to hide these facts or bewail the injustices from which they rise but ought to expose them in order to arouse indignation, passion and hate among the oppressed. "We must make oppression even more bitter or cruel by arousing consciousness of oppression, we must make shame even more shameful by giving it full publicity." (1) The passions of men must be set in motion for "nothing great in the world has been accomplished without passion." (2) In reality, only the proletariat despoiled by energy is poor. (3) The true revolutionary, the real communist, unlike the utopians who saw in poverty nothing but poverty, sees in it "the revolutionary, subversive side, which will overthrow the old society." (4)

The idea of exposing and exploiting poverty, shame, oppression, misery, etc., indicates the political strategy of the communists. While joining in reform movements (because the party supports every movement

(1) Marx., K., Contribution a la Critique de la Philosophie du Droit de Hegel, in Oeuvres Philosophiques, Vol. I, p. 89

(2) Hegel, G., Philosophy of History, p. 23

(3) Marx, K., Morceaux Choisis, p. 192

(4) Marx, K., Poverty of Philosophy, p. 106

against the existing order to which it is totally opposed, (1) and such action affords an opportunity for manifesting communist interest in, and leadership of, (if possible), (2) movements in the interest of the masses) party members must emphasize the fact that all reforms are mere stop gaps which do not solve the basic problem of class division and domination but offer merely temporary relief. With the passing of time, misery, poverty, and the like, which are never really overcome, will break out on an enlarged scale. It must be pointed out to the masses that to prevent such social catastrophes is not within the power of the bourgeoisie because they are essentially bound up with the capitalist system. The only positive, definitive solution is the destruction of the system itself. Party members within government should expose constantly mistakes in government policy, show how these policies continually favor the upper classes, endeavor to create friction, conflict,

(1) Marx-Engels, German Ideology, p. 98

(2) Communists should use every means possible to dominate and control all movements of the masses so that nothing be achieved apart from their influence and the masses be impressed with the necessity and wisdom of communist policies. "Unless we master all means of warfare, we may suffer grave and even decisive defeat if changes in the position of the other classes that do not depend on us bring to the forefront forms of activity in which we are particularly weak." Lenin, V., "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, L.L.L., Vol. 20, p. 77

animosity and discontent among the people and among the different factions within government. In short, all should be directed towards the creation of a national crisis, a state which makes it practically impossible for the upper classes to continue their domination.

"A revolution is impossible without a nationwide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters)." (1)

The communist does not want or desire prosperity because such periods make the masses complacent and contented. There must be antagonism, discontent and oppression which serve as dispositive causes that make revolution possible.

"A new revolution is only possible in consequence of a new crisis." (2)

Finally, we must note that theoretical, political and practical-economic activity all nourish and develop the seeds of insurrection which, maturing slowly within the womb of society, suddenly burst forth into bloom as revolution - the "leap" into the realm of freedom. The birth of the new society is accomplished only by violence or force which is the "midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." (3) The frequently repeated

(1) Ibid., p. 66

(2) Marx, K., The Class Struggles in France in Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 299

(3) Marx, K., Capital, Vol. I, p. 824

assertions in communist literature insisting on the necessity of violence make it clear that the Marxists have no illusions about the practical impossibility of seizing power by parliamentary or peaceful means. The opposition of the bourgeoisie, possessors of great wealth and influence, renders such a possibility, however desirable it might be, only a dream. The bourgeoisie employs all means of violence to preserve its status and violence must be met with violence. (1) With the violent overthrow of bourgeois power the class struggle enters upon its last phase - the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- The Dictatorship of the Proletariat -

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the successor to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which veiled it-

(1) "The conquest of power does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois State machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and political domination...the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power." The Programme of the Communist International, 1928, in Handbook of Marxism pp. 990-91: cf. Lenin, V., State and Revolution which contains numerous texts of Marx and Engels concerning the necessity for violence. In this work Lenin declares outmoded the opinion of Marx and Engels that a peaceful transition is possible for England and America, p. 34; he repeats the same idea in The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, L.L.L., Vol. 21, p. 21